The Chin dynasty, which started in A.D. 265, had been unable to control its empire, which was invaded by the northern barbarians. The governors of the distant Liang-chou, according to the circumstances, recognized the authority of either the empire or one of the nearest new barbarian kingdoms (Chao, Ch'ing, Wei), or both at the same time, or even declared themselves independent, founding their own kingdoms and expanding their power and influence as far as Turkistan and Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, pp. 14–17).

From 345 until 439 Liang-chou was not only the most important emporium of the West but also the most active cultural center of Buddhism.

The kings of Ch'ien-Liang (345–385) promoted and protected Buddhism.[18] The kings of Hou-Liang (385–401) were as fervent protectors of Buddhism as the kings of Ch'ien-Liang.[19] However, Buddhism reached its highest degree of intellectual activity during the period of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün of Pei Liang (401–439), who controlled Turkistan and nearly the entire east of modern Kansu.[20] His counselor was the celebrated Dharmaksema.[21] One is easily tempted to suppose that Buddhism was diffused on a large scale in the countries subjected to unusually fervent Buddhist rulers—and all the more since during the period of 401–439, two thousand families from Liang-chou were transported to Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 176), three thousand from Yung-ch'ang (ch. 30, p. 18*a*), and five thousand from Ho-chou (ch. 30, p. 18*b*). It seems to be an axiom that in Asia, and especially among

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Because China at that time was involved in endless wars, many Chinese from Ho-pei, allured by the prospects of peaceful living and profitable trading, moved into Liang-chou. The acquisition of the wealthy and rich emporium of Liang-chou had also been the motive for the expedition of the T'o-pa and the destruction of Pei Liang. The Chinese population of Liang-chou, according to the custom during these ages, were then taken slaves to populate the realm of the T'o-pa.

[18] They built the big monastery and superb tower in the city of Liang-chou, the first grottos of *Sha-chou* (Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1185), and supported Chih-shih-lün, an Upsaka of the country of the Yüeh-chih, who translated in Liang-chou four volumes of Buddhist texts (*A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, App. II, No. 35, p. 398, Bunyiu Nanjio, 1930), and the Chinese *Sramana* Chu Fu-nien who translated 12 works (Catalogue . . . App. II, No. 58, p. 405).

[19] The king's counselor was the Indian monk, Kumarajiva, who translated the 200 and more volumes of the Sutralankara (*Nanjio catalogue*, App. II, No. 59, p. 407) in Liang-chou. They built a tower and a monastery in the city, said to contain the relics of the monk (*Annals* of Liang-chou, 30*a*); the monk was very proficient in foretelling the future (*ibid.*, 34*b*, 35*a*.)

[20] *The Bunyiu Nanjio catalogue of Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka* mentions no less than nine names of learned foreign monks working in Liang-chou, supported by the king, translating 82 works from Indian and Sanskrit into Chinese (App. II, p. 410, No. 61, pp. 64–72). Nan-yang-hu, the nephew of the king was a translator (App. II, No. 83). Walter Fuchs, Zür technischen Organisation der Übersetzungen buddhistischer Schriften in Chinesische, *Asia Major* 6: 84, 1930.

[21] *Annals* of Liang-chou, 34*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 196. Ware, *op. cit.* 2: 133.

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Uigur AIH

inroads of Hsi Hsia on the Huangchung borders and in East Kansu, the deputation proposed to the emperor that he fight Hsi Hsia in combination with the 60,000 troops Chiossulo commanded. The proposition was hotly debated among the ministers. The emperor, afraid of the revival of a new and terrible Tsan-p'u power, and distrusting the inconstancy and predatoriness of the barbarians, refused the offer. Thereupon the embittered Chiossulo invaded Fu Ch'iang in South Kansu with his troops of Huangchung and Ho Chou, but suffered a striking defeat at the hand of General Ts'ao Wei (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 6*b*). The commander of the troops of Ho Chou abandoned Chiossulo and submitted to the emperor, enfeebling the position of Chiossulo. In 1028 Hsi Hsia, invading West Kansu, liquidated the kingdom of the Uighurs in Kanchow and so the threat of invasion became more imminent.

Chiossulo and his minister submitted to the emperor in 1032 and were bestowed with titles. However, the Minister Wen Pu Ku revolted against Chiossulo, who killed him and later moved to Hsining. Chiossulo having troubles in his own backyard, Li Yuan-hao, King of Hsi Hsia, seized the opportunity to invade Hsining in 1035, but Chiossulo administered a tremendous defeat. This victory rendered him the master of all of Huangchung.

Li Yuen-hao conquered the districts of Su, Kua, and Sha Chou in West Kansu, commanding the trade roads to Central Asia, in 1036, and started moving T'u-fan and Uighur tribes into his kingdom of Hsi Hsia. Then many T'u-fan tribes, among them the tribes of Niku and several ten thousands of Uighurs preferred to flee to Chiossulo, pledge allegiance to him and settle in Huangchung. The scant population of Huangchung increased to the point where Chiossulo became the ruler of 600,000 subjects and Hsining started flourishing. The Uighurs, reputed traders, used to travel between Central Asia, China, and the Liao empire, and were familiar with the roads running from Hsining through Kokonor and the passes in the Nan Shan leading to Kao Ch'ang[26] and Central Asia. "The traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to Hsining." Hsining thrived with trade; wealth and riches poured into the country and at the same time agriculture developed.[27]

SEVERAL TEN THOUSANDS OF UIGHURS FLED TO HUANGCHUNG

Now the emperor was in a hurry to send an official to congratulate Chiossulo for his resounding victory over the Hsi Hsia, bringing him the titles of military governor of East Kansu and supreme chief of Mao-

[26] Kao Ch'ang is also called Turfan, Hsi Chou. In that region must have been the kingdom of Mo-yu where Chiossulo was born.

[27] *Sung Shih*, 492: 8, 10, 11, 13. *Sung Shih* 251: 13. *Annals* of Kansu 46: 6, 7, 8. *Annals* of Hsining 30B: 1, 2, 3; 33A-B.

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ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,[28] because two Chinese princesses, Wên Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 8*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 2*a*). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,[29] the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle.

[28] A. Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V, 5: 266. 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

[29] Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho ching-luch* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsueh-pao*,) 1, Shuo fu, **15**: 12 *a-b*.

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seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[31] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[32] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[33] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in

[31] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[32] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[33] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

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Uigur AI4

might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910–1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19*a*) dealing with the geography of the country note incidentally that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3*a–b*). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan

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tribe, T'u-fan mixed with Tang-hsiang, controlled by Wenpuku; and another important tribe controlled by the lama Li Li-tsung settled in the region of Tsung K'o. A third group is also noted, the group of the Slaves (Wu-mu) who settled in Kuo Chou, 150 li south of Nienpei, in 862.

To be sure, more insignificant tribes must have settled in Huangchung, but their names and the areas occupied are not recorded. Next to the Tibetan groups is recorded the Shat'o chu-hsieh tribe[35] living in a region 100 li south of Kanchow in 939, stretching from the Nan Shan to Hsining (Monguors I: 13*b*) and encompassing the region of the Tat'ung River. Many Shat'o, after the collapse of their dynasty in 955, had joined this group. These Shat'o were the southern neighbors of the Uighurs of Kanchow for two hundred years, who were a mixture of many tribes blended and fused into the compound that founded the Khanate of Kanchow in 872. Its predatoriness is attested in the history of Turkistan and Kansu.[36] Shat'o and Uighurs, according to the circumstances, had lived congenially together in former times, had combined their forces to fight a common enemy, but had fought against each other every time divergences of interest had arisen. What the relations had been between the Hsining Shat'o and the Kanchow Uighurs in 1036 is not known. The leading tribe among the Kanchow Uighurs was the Lung tribe.[37]

In what areas of Huangchung and east Kansu were these Uighurs and Tibetans settled by Chiossulo in 1036?

Scanning chapter 19 of the *Annals* of Hsining, dealing with the tribes settled in Huangchung in Ming times (1368) (three hundred years after their surrender to Chiossulo) one is amazed to read names of such tribes as Lung-pu, Lung-pen, Lung-wang, and To-lung. One thinks unwillingly that these names might point to tribes which had constituted the important Lung tribe of Kanchow, which might have divided into smaller tribes after the surrender to Chiossulo in 1036. One is surprised to read also that in 1071 the most powerful among the tribes depending on Hsining was the Lung-k'o tribe noted also as the Yu-lung-k'o tribe.[38] In the Lung k'o tribe there were numerous chiefs. The tribe was wealthy and opulent. It was settled in East

[35] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 89, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[36] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128–129.

[37] *Wu-tai-shih* **74**: 4*a*. Stein, *op. cit.*, 256. The Lung is a branch of the Uighurs of Kanchow whose customs differ little from those of the other Uighurs. The Lung came from Karashar (Yen-ch'i). Lung was the name of the clan chiefs of Karashar. They had settled in Kansu and Yi Chou (region of Hami). Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128.

[38] Biography of General Wang Ch'ao in *Sung Shih* **87**: 20 *a–b*. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 10*b*. *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 3*a*, and the important study of Enoki Kazuo, entitled *Osho no kika Keiryaku ni tsuite* (on the Hsi-ho ching-lueh of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, **1**, Tokyo, (Meng-ku hsueh pao) **1**: 88–167.

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Kansu, in Yen Ch'uan Chai, which is Chang Hsien, situated 50 li southwest of Kung Ch'ang (Enoki, 158). The tribe surrendered to General Wang Ch'ao in 1071 with its 120,000 people. The *Annals* of Kansu 97: 14, record that Wang Ch'ao notified the emperor about the submission of the Lung-k'o tribe and petitioned to reward it with the name Pao (thankful). The request was granted and the emperor added the word Shun to the name, Pao Shun (thankful-faithful). Enoki (p. 111) noted also a Lung-po tribe living in East Kansu in 1071. It had troubles with the Tibetan To-chih tribe. However, the Lung tribes recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining were settled in Huangchung. The Lung-pu, numbering two thousand families, divided into two tribes, was settled south of Hsining on the northern borders of the Yellow River. Its people lived mostly in tents (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3 *a–b*). The Lung-pen tribe numbering 873 families was settled 60 li west of Hsining. Its people lived partly in a city (fortress), partly in tents. The tribe controlled the Pen-pa-erh[39] tribe numbering one hundred families settled in the Hsi-shih-hsia (Tsamalung) on the rapids of the Hsining River between Hsining and Don Kir (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 12*a*, 15*a*). The small Lung-wang and To-lung tribes numbering eighty families were settled 80 li east of the city of Tatung on the borders of the Tatung River (*Annals* of Hsining 19, 20*a*) in the region occupied by the Shat'o at the time of their surrender. This seems to suggest that this group was congenial with the Shat'o group.

UIGHURS AND SUBJECTS OF T'U-SSU

In discussing the commoners, the subjects of the Monguor t'u-ssu (Monguors I: 31–53), it has been noted that during the Mongol period (1280–1368), Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-chi, a member of the imperial family, had been appointed guardian of the region situated 90 li south of Hsining. He discharged the office of myriarch and evidently controlled his own 10,000 soldiers and their families. However, it is recorded that he governed also eight tribes of Tung Ku and vicinity, descendants of western Ch'iang (western Tibetans). Tung Ku was situated between Hsining and the Tatung River, in the region of Tatung, where during the Five Dynasties (907–951) Shat'o tribes lived, joined by other groups of Shat'o after the collapse of their dynasty. These western Ch'iang seem to be Uighurs of the khanate of Kanchow who had settled there in 1036. The Uighurs of Kanchow had come from the west, from Turkistan, and so are called western Tibetans, for all the barbarians are called Tibetans in the *Annals*. For what reason these eight tribes had been moved and put under the control of the myriarch

[39] *Anthropos* 52: 560 sq., 1957. Dominik Schroder writes a very interesting article: Uber die Chia-Fandse von Bengbar, Tsing-hai (the Pen-pa tribe), und ihre Hochzeitssitten.

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partly Tibetan and partly Mongol. In not too long a time they would have become thoroughly Tibetan.[41]

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

The preceding notes have an important ethnographic bearing. It has been noted that in 625, for fear of invading T'u-fan of Tibet, several thousand Tang-hsiang from the region of Sung P'an in Szechwan had fled to East Kansu, submitted to China, and had been settled in East Kansu and Mi Chih in Shansi; also that T'u-fan hordes chased the T'u-ku-hun from Huang-chung and the Kokonor region and settled in Huang-chung in 629. From 763 until 842 the whole of Kansu had been lost to China; the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the country and appointed his officials. Consequently, the bulk of the population of East Kansu consisted of Tang-hsiang and T'u-fan subjects. In 955 the Shat'o nation disintegrated and many Shat'o groups were incorporated in the Tibetan tribes in East Kansu and many fled to Huangchung, joining the Shat'o group which was living there in 939. In 1036 tens of thousands of Uighurs surrendered to Chiossulo who settled them in Huangchung and in East Kansu. In 1368, in the Ming dynasty, some Uighur groups had still kept their tribal organization but, under the leadership of t'u-ssu, others had become mixed with Tibetans and Shat'o in village formations and two groups had conserved their autonomy under the leadership of their own chiefs. When in 1712–1723 these groups revolted against the Ch'ing dynasty, many small groups of Uighurs controlled by t'u-ssu followed the people of their race in the revolt. During the Mongol period (1280–1368) many groups of Mongols settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. After the collapse of their dynasty most of them submitted to the Ming and remained in the country. Some of their chiefs became t'u-ssu and other groups disintegrated and dispersed in the country.

These notes explain what specific tribes constitute the base of the present population in Huangchung and East Kansu and at what time these tribes had arrived in Kansu. During centuries they lived one next to the other, feuding and blending with the few Chinese of the country, forming the compound called Kansu Chinese.

COLLAPSE OF THE T'U-FAN KINGDOM OF HUANGCHUNG

Chiossulo had three wives. The first, belonging to the Ch'iao family, bore one son, Tung-chan; the second, the daughter of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, bore two sons; no notes concern the third (*Annals*

[41] Mathias Hermann, S.V.D., Uiguren und ihre neuentdekten Nachkommen, *Anthropos*, 78–99, 1940–1941.

S
563 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found
141 in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat
142 and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S
563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 4. History
563 The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats
175 of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they
S have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immi-
[167] grants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S
563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 5. The leagues
563 The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
631 (1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N 1. The Mongours
*563 a. history
101
M The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living
[101] in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours
N have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours
*563 came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thir-
*175 teenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already
[167] settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)
M was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the
175 experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, pri-
[167] marily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country